1986

"They Lie Interred Together": An Analysis of Gravestones and Burial Pattern in Colonial Tidewater Virginia

Elizabeth Anne Crowell
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

"THEY LIE INTERRED TOGETHER":
AN ANALYSIS OF GRAVESTONES AND
BURIAL PATTERNS IN COLONIAL TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Elizabeth A. Crowell

1986

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Liz Crowell

Author

Approved, August 1986

James P. Whittenburg

John E. Selby

Kevin P. Kelly

To my father

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Research for this thesis was initiated in the autumn of 1978 as an outgrowth of my interest in the history and material culture of colonial Virginia. I had completed my coursework and an archaeology apprenticeship at the College of William and Mary in the spring of 1978 and was beginning study toward a Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania. The initial product of my research was a lengthy class paper, which I hoped to expand upon and develop to submit for my William and Mary M.A. thesis. During the intervening years, however, advanced coursework, a doctoral dissertation, and a series of technical reports filled much of the time I intended to devote to finishing the project. Yet, I still felt a desire to complete this work although countless people advised me not to bother. My gratitude for the privilege to study at the College, and my love for the institution and the people who made my year at the College the best in my life, compelled me to complete my degree. Now, eight years later, my hope has become a reality.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to numerous individuals who proved invaluable to the research and completion of this thesis. I am most grateful to Dr. James Whittenburg for his guidance and encouragement during my year in residence at the College of William and Mary through the completion of this thesis. The members of my committee, Dr. John Selby and Dr. Kevin P. Kelly deserve my special thanks for their kind assistance and their insightful comments. In addition, I owe a great debt of thanks to the faculty of the history and anthropology departments. I especially wish to thank Dr. James Deetz, who introduced me to the study of gravestones and gave me new insights into the fields of archaeology and material culture. Dr. John M. Hemphill II and Dr. Norman Barka also deserve special credit for making my year at the college a rewarding one. I wish to thank the College for its generous financial assistance and for the opportunity to serve as an archaeology apprentice.

The staffs of numerous institutions deserve special thanks for their assistance with this research: the Earl Gregg Swem Library of the College of William and Mary; the Colonial Williamsburg Research Library; the Virginia Historical Society; the Virginia State Library; Bruton Parish

Church, particularly Mr. John Grubb; the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia; the LIbrary and Manuscripts Divisions of the Maryland Historical Society, particularly Ms. Karen A. Stuart and Ms. Donna Ellis; the Genealogy and Local History Division, Library of Congress and the Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Without their help, this research would not have been possible.

In addition, I wish to thank Dr. Murray Murphey, Dr. Henry Glassie, and Dr. Robert Schuyler of the University of Pennsylvania whose guidance and expertise have profoundly influenced my work. Ms. Karen Stuart, Mr. Jonathan Poston, and Ms. Martha Pallante challenged me and encouraged me throughout my coursework, research and writing. Karen and John deserve special thanks for spending untold hours transporting me to graveyards and assisting me with the recording and photography of the gravestones during the initial phases of my research. During the later stages of this research, the wrirings of Mr. Norman V. Mackie III on gravestones in the Chesapeake-Tidewater region and our productive discussions on the subject, were thought-provoking and inspired me in my own research.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents, particularly my father, who constantly encouraged me to complete this thesis. No words are adequate to express my gratitude for the love and unflagging support of my family throughout my academic career.

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

In 1977, James Deetz, in In Small Things Forgotten, proposed that distinct regional traditions developed in the colonies and that they should be reflected in material culture. At that time, colonial gravestone studies had focussed primarily upon the rich gravestone imagery of New England. More recently, the scope of gravestone studies has expanded to include other regions and a more holistic analysis of gravestone attributes. Few studies, however, have attempted to make regional comparisons which might reveal and explain cultural differences.

The present study analyzes gravestones and burial practices from colonial Tidewater Virginia. Gravestone form, procurement, distribution, inscriptions and epitaphs are analyzed to discover how they relate to the complexity and hierarchical nature of Virginia society. An examination of burial patterns reveals their link to settlement patterns. These findings are then compared to discoveries from New England mortuary studies, to explain the similarities and differences of the two cultures.

"THEY LIE INTERRED TOGETHER":
AN ANALYSIS OF GRAVESTONES AND
BURIAL PATTERNS IN COLONIAL TIDEWATER VIRGINIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To date, gravestone scholarship in the United States has focused predominantly upon colonial New England. Two major characteristics of gravestone use in that region may be singled out to explain such a focus. First, New England gravestones possess a rich array of carved imagery -- the direct result of changing world views toward death over time. The interpretation of this complex iconography has been the subject of the majority of inquiries into New England gravestones, and scholars from several disciplines (history, genealogy, folklore, archaeology, cultural geography) have endeavored to decipher the secrets of the stones. Second, an abundance of local stone and the subsequent development of an indigenous stonecarving tradition in New England allowed individuals from all socioeconomic classes to have stone markers. Consequently, researchers were more than ready to take full advantage of the statistically sound data base which the stones served to comprise.

In recent years, however, the scope of gravestone and cemetery analysis has broadened to include not only New England, but other regions of the country as well. Information gleaned from regional analyses yields a wealth of data for comparative purposes with important implications

for the historical archaeologist. James Deetz has stated that distinct regional traditions developed throughout the colonies as a result of the differing cultural backgrounds of the settlers, the purposes of settlement, and environmental conditions.[1] Material culture and behavior in these regions should reflect these differing regional traditions.

This thesis analyzes gravestones and burial patterns in Tidewater Virginia from 1607-1776. Observations of these mortuary traditions and those from New England indicate that there are indeed distinct differences, many of which may be explained, in part, by the somewhat polar motives involved in the settlement of the two regions. As T.H. Breen notes in a discussion of "Motives for Colonization", New England and Virginia were settled by different groups with different motives:

> English men and women moved to the New World for many different reasons...However, by concentrating narrowly upon economic and religious incentives for transfer, we can argue plausibly that the further north the colonists settled, the less obsessed they were with immediate material gain. As historians constantly reiterate, Puritans journeyed to New England for more than the reformation of the Church of England, but religious purity was certainly a matter of considerable importance in establishing "a city on a hill". By the same token, some English people undoubtedly thought they were doing the Lord's work in Virginia. The major preoccupation of these early settlers, however, was making money -- a great deal of it very quickly. As Edmund S. Morgan has pointed out, the Chesapeake colony in the early seventeenth century took on the characteristics of a "boom town", a place where powerful persons were none too particular

about the means they used to gain their ends.[2]

In addition to the contrasting motives for settlement, the colonists in each region were faced with different sets of environmental conditions. Religious constraints caused New Englanders to settle initially in nucleated villages, and the short growing season and glacial soils which allowed only subsistence farming caused them to remain in these villages.[3] By contrast, individuals in Virginia began to move out along the rivers to establish plantations shortly after the foundation of Jamestown.[4] The adoption of tobacco as the staple crop demanded that these plantations be extensive.[5] Such settlement patterns played an important role in the development of mortuary traditions, with the geographic distributions of stone markers in the two areas varying radically. The availability of raw materials was also an important factor. In New England, the abundance of local stone allowed most people to have gravestones, whereas in Virginia the dearth of quarries necessitated their importation. This need for gravestone importation, coupled with a more stratified social hierarchy, led to the use of very different styles of markers than those which were most prevalent in New England.

In order to comprehend mortuary traditions in both New England and Virginia, an understanding of English gravestones and burial practices is vital. In English cemeteries, graves were laid out in an east-west configuration, with the feet of the deceased facing the east. This practice had originated

with early sun-worshipping cultures and was adopted by Christians because it coincided with their beliefs.[6] Christians believed that on the final Judgement Day, Gabriel would appear in the east blowing his trumpet to summon the dead to appear before God. The dead would thus rise in unison, facing east.[7]

Burial of the dead in England took place in the churchyard or within the confines of the church building.[8] In order to be buried within the church, one had to be a person of substantial position and wealth. Persons of the highest status were buried in an abbey or cathedral, while burial in the chancel of the parish church, beneath or near the altar, was the next most prestigious alternative.[9] Interment within the walls of the church was also desirable. The least popular option was burial beneath the aisles, since graves underwent the "indignity of being walked upon."[10] An interesting commentary on burial within the church appears in the epitaph of grave digger Robert Philips of Kingbridge:

> Here I lie at the chapel door,
> Here I lie because I'm poor
> The farther in the more you'll pay,
> Here I lie as warm as they.

Marked churchyard burials also indicated persons of some note, most often "clerics, soldiers, and merchants". Frederick Burgess compared eighteenth century English parish registers to existing gravestones from that period and concluded that the use of gravestones was "confined even in the country districts to the wealthier members of its community."[11]

John Weever, writing in 1631, observed that the style of gravemarker used varied according to the social status of the deceased. He noted that the lowest rank of gentlemen had flat stone markers flush to the ground, while individuals of higher rank were commemorated by tombs raised above the ground.[12] The complete absence of a stone grave marker could also be attributed to one's place in the social order:

> it was the vfe and coftome of reuerend antiquitie to interre perfons of the rvfticke or plebeian fort in Chriftian bvriall, without any further remembrance of them either by tombe, grauestone, or epitaph

This suggests that large numbers of people were interred in unmarked graves, or, as Burgess suggests, graves may have been marked with wooden gravemarkers.[13] These wooden markers, or "grave rayles", consisted of an inscribed wooden board suspended between two wooden posts. This type of marker was very impermanent as it was subject to deterioration, and, thus, there are few still extant from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (See Figure I).

Burgess identified the nine styles of stone markers in use in Post-Reformation England as the headstone, ledger, bodystone, coffin-stone, coped stone, chest-tomb, bale-tomb, pedastel-tomb, and table-tomb. The headstone, chest-tomb, and table-tomb are of the most interest to American gravestone scholars since these styles were used in the New World, including colonial Tidewater Virginia. The headstone is a simple, upright slab which is often decorated with carved

FIGURE 1

WOODEN GRAVEMARKER

motifs and inscribed (Figure II). The chest-tomb (also known as a box tomb) is "a large brick or cut stone base over which a large flat carved slab was placed" (Figure III). The table-tomb resembles the chest tomb, however the slab is supported by a number (four to eight) of stone legs[14] (Figure IV).

According to Burgess, imagery on Post-Reformation momuments exhibits three major themes -- Mortality, Resurrection, and Means of Salvation.[15] Mortality is expressed through "simple charnel imagery such as skull and bones, the tools of the sexton, and the hourglass, sundial and candle". Cherub imagery represents the immortal component of man in Resurrection symbolism and the images of Faith, Hope and Charity, and scenes of the Last Judgement are representative of the theme of Means of Salvation. Coats of arms also often accompany these thematic images. These mortuary traditions occuring in England set the precedent for both New England and Virginia; indeed, certain elements of stone styles, imagery, and burial patterns were adopted in both regions of the New World.

Before discussing Virginia gravestones and burial patterns, this paper will detail the findings in New England. The investigation of New England gravestones provides important comparative information for the student of Virginia gravestones. The distribution, origin, and iconography of New England stones reveals a definite contrast with the situation in Virginia; these differences reflect fundamental

FIGURE 2

HEADSTONE

FIGURE 3

BOX TOMB

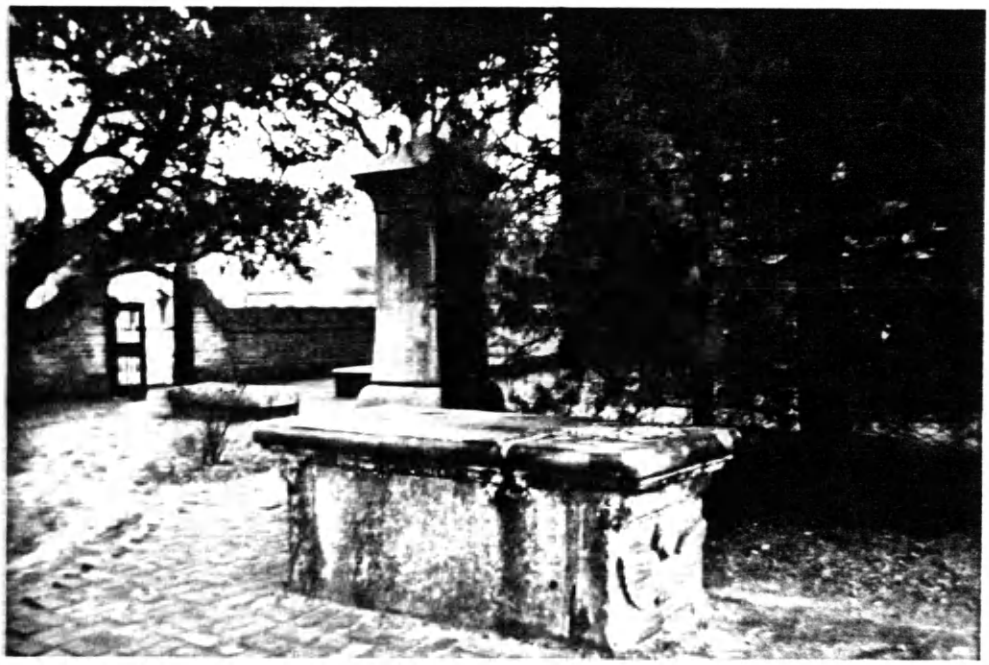
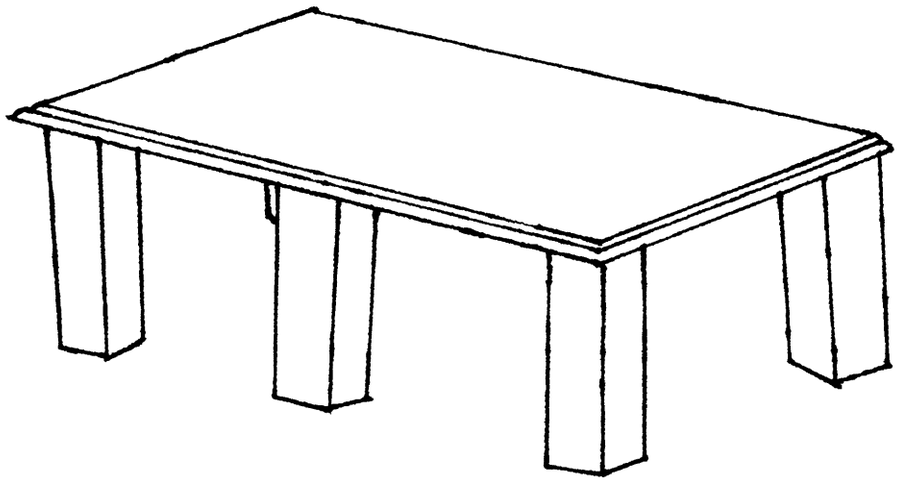


FIGURE 4

TABLE TOMB



underlying variations in the two cultures.

New England is an excellent testing ground in which to conduct gravestone analysis for a number of reasons. The development of a local stonecarving tradition by the late seventeenth century allowed most of the population to acquire gravestones.[16] The majority of these gravestones are decorated with elaborate carved imagery. These factors, in combination with excellent documentary evidence, provide a rich source for study; this is demonstrated by the large number of art historians, folklorists, professional and avocational historians, cultural geographers, and archaeologists who have investigated New England gravestones and burial patterns.

The absence of stone gravemarkers in any significant number before the last quarter of the senevteenth century suggests that, prior to that time, burials were either unmarked or marked with wooden gravemarkers.[17] There is no definite evidence that wooden gravemarkers were implemented in New England, although their use has been documented in England, South Carolina, and Georgia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. When New Englanders adopted stone gravemarkers, they chose tripartite headstones with rounded shoulders which apparently were reminiscent of the shape of wooden "grave rayles".

New England gravestone styles underwent change over time. Temporal variation can be observed in gravestone shape, carved imagery, accompanying inscriptions and epitaphs,

and in the location of cemeteries.[19] James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen have done much of the pioneering work in these studies. As anthropological archaeologists they viewed gravestones holistically, as part of a larger cultural tradition. Deetz and Dethlefsen identified three major motifs which were used in the period 1660-1820: the death's-head, the cherub, and the urn and willow. Changes in these motifs were seen to reflect changes in the society. In addition, they discovered that the sentiments of accompanying inscriptions and epitaphs changed with this imagery and served to instruct the living.[20]

The earliest of the decorated gravestones portrayed graphic and grisly motifs which depicted the reality and physical horrors of death. The death's-head is a grinning winged skull with hollow eye sockets. This symbol is accompanied by other imagery associated with Mortality stones in England, including bones, hourglasses, snuffed candles, palls, and shovels.[21] These symbols are interpreted as reflecting the beliefs and dictums of orthodox Puritanism.[22]

Inscriptions accompanying this imagery begin with the rirual phrase "Here lies" or "Here lies buried", neither form of which alludes to an after life for the deceased.[23] The inclusion of "Fugit Hora" (Time Flys) and "Memento Mori" (Remember Death) was an ever present reminder of one's fate. Epitaphs were also a grim reminder of impending death. Two epitaphs which often accompanied death's-heads were:

Remember me as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now you soon must be
Prepare for death and follow me

My youthful mates both small and great
Come here and you may see
An awful sight which is the type
Of which you soon must be[24]

Beginning around 1740, the imagery appearing on New England gravestones shifted to that of the cherub.[25] The cherub represented the immortality of the deceased, with accompanying inscriptions and epitaphs which suggested the hope for eternal life. According to Deetz and Dethlefsen, this transformation reflected the coming of the Great Awakening and the softening of orthodox Puritanism. The imagery no longer depicted merely the physical aspect of death, but instead represented the incorruptibility of the deceased and the hope for a joyful resurrection.

Accompanying inscriptions also reflect this change. The statement "Here lies..." was replaced by "Here lies the body of...", the latter of which implies that only the corpse lies in the ground and the immortal component "has gone to its eternal reward". Epitaphs also reflect this hope of afterlife:

Here cease thy tears, supress thy fruitless mourn
his soul -- the immortal part -- has upward flown
On wings he soars his rapid way
to yon bright regions of eternal day.

About 1770, a third style of imagery -- the urn and willow -- gained popularity. The urn and willow, unlike the death's-head and the cherub, is impersonal and secular and in

no way reflects either the immortal or mortal components of the deceased. Conversely, this imagery depicts symbols representative of mourning. The accompanying ritual phrases "In Memory of..." or "Sacred to the Memory of..." do not acknowledge the presence of the deceased either in the earth or in heaven. Epitaphs appearing on this style of stone also differ from previous forms. James Deetz explains: "While earlier themes still occurred, they were joined by another, one that simply lauded the individual in terms of his worldly achievements."[26] This type of epitaph emphasized the virtues of the deceased and often provided a short biography. The urn and willow stone, in all of its components, is much different than its predecessors. It can be seen as part of the first true horizon style, an element of the initial wave of Neo-Classicism which affected all aspects of American material culture.[27]

Conclusions drawn from the study of New England gravestones by James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen find that imagery, inscription, and epitaphs reflected religious and cultural orientation. Changes which occurred in the artifacts were indicative of changes in the society at large.

My investigation of gravestones in Tidewater Virginia used the work of Deetz and Dethlefsen as a model. Gravestones and burial patterns were studied in Tidewater counties in both churchyards and private burying grounds. An index card was completed for each gravestone, and the information recorded included all written material on the gravestone,

preserving the capitalization, spelling, layout, and writing style. The location and configuration of a stone, as well as its material and condition, were described. All gravestones were sketched and photographed. Documentary records were then consulted, including primary and secondary histories, probate and legal records, family papers, account books, scholarly journals, and other primary and secondary sources.

As in New England, gravestones examined in this study were considered in the context of three dimensions -- time, space, and form.[29] In most previous gravestone studies, the dimensions of time and form have been primarily stressed with the spatial dimension acknowledged, but not often investigated.[30] Gravestone scholars have only recently realized the importance of the spatial distribution of gravestones.[31] The location of the cemetery in the landscape can reveal a great deal about the culture.

Burials from the Tidewater will be discussed in terms of their location, while gravestones will be considered in terms of form, decoration, origin, inscriptions and epitaphs. This information will be compared with findings from New England and discussed in relation to societal and environmental conditions.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

1. James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten (Garden City,New York, 1977),38.

2. Timothy H. Breen, "Creative Adaptations: Peoples and Cultures" in Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole, eds., Colonial British America (Baltimore, 1984),203-204.

3. Murray Murphey, 1978, personal communication.

4. Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom (New York and London, 1975),94.

5. Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill, 1982),116.

6. Frederick Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials (London, 1963),25.

7. James Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

8. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 20-21.

9. Ibid,56; Allan I. Ludwig, Graven Images (Middletown, 1966),56.

10. Ludwig, Graven Images, 56.

11. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 20, 27.

12. John Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments (London, 1631), 10.

13. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 28, 112-140.

14. Ludwig, Graven Images, 232-233.

15. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 165-166.

16. Harriette Merrifield Forbes, Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800, (Boston, 1927),5-20; Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

17. Deetz, Small Things, 88.

18. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 28; Jeffrey S. Parker, "O'er Neptunes Waters I've Crossed: A New Perspective on the Ancient Tradition of Wooden Gravemarkers". Paper presented at Society for Historical Archaeology Meetings, Boston, January, 1985.

19. Deetz, Small Things, 69, 71, 88.

20. James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees", American Antiquity 31(1966): 503.

21. Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

22. Ludwig, Graven Images, 33.

23. Deetz, Small Things, 71.

24. Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees", 506; Deetz, Small Things, 71.

25. Deetz, Small Things, 71, 72.

26. Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

27. James Deetz, "A Cognitive Model for American Material Culture: 1620-1835" in Robert L. Schuyler, ed., Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions (Farmingdale, New York, 1978), 285.

28. Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Deaths Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees", 508.

29. Albert C. Spaulding, "The Dimensions of Archaeology" in Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro, eds., Essays in the Science of Culture In Honor of Leslie A. White (New York, 1960),438.

30. Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

31. Robert L. Schuyler, personal communication, 1982; Elizabeth A. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs: An Archaeological Analysis of Mortuary Art in Cape May County, New Jersey 1740-1820" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983),33-78; Elizabeth A. Crowell and Norman Vardney Mackie, III, "Depart from Hence and Keep this Thought in Mind: The Importance of Comparative Analysis in Gravestone Research", Northeast Historical Archaeology 14(1985): 9-16.

CHAPTER II

SPATIAL-LOCATIONAL ANALYSIS

The location of gravestones and burials, both within cemeteries and within the landscape, has been a subject of interest to archaeologists wishing to discover patterns of burial and their possible meaning. In Tidewater Virginia, the spatial-locational distribution of burials changed over time as a result of changing settlement patterns. At the time of earliest settlement at Jamestown, the deceased were buried in the church or adjoining churchyard. As the population moved onto dispersed plantations, the custom of plantation burial developed. Finally, persons living in close proximity to outlying churches often opted for church or churchyard burial, particularly during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Burial patterns similar to those observed in Virginia are known to have occurred in St. Mary's County, Maryland and Cape May County, New Jersey.[1] A more complete analysis of each of these burial patterns reveals much about the culture of Tidewater Virginia.

BURIAL AT THE CHURCH AT JAMESTOWN

In 1607, the Virginia Company of London established Jamestown on an island along the northern banks of the James River. The colonists constructed a pallisaded settlement which enclosed dwellings, a church, and other structures.

An area was sequestered for the burial of the dead, although this probably was not located within the confines of the enclosed settlement; rather, it may have been located near the site where subsequent churches were situated.[2]

The colonists at Jamestown would have had an immediate need for a graveyard. When Captain Christopher Newport left Jamestown on June 22, 1607, there were 104 colonists. Twenty-two died in the first month, however, and by January 1608, only 38 remained alive.[3] George Percy noted:

> our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most parr they died of meere famine.[4]

The high incidence of disease, particularly typhoid and dysentary, and the contamination of the river water, were engendered by the estuarine environment. The concentrated nature of the Jamestown population allowed these diseases to spread quickly[5], resulting in an astronomical death rate which continued until 1624.[6]

The number of burials which occurred at Jamestown would have been enormous. John Cotter observed:

> Between December 1606 (when the first vessels of the Virginia Company left England and February 1625, 7,289 immigrants came to Virginia. During this period, 6040 died. Between December 1606 and November 1619, Alexander Brown estimates 1640 out of 2540 died (Brown 1898 pp. 285-320). Allowing for a proportion of these settlers to have been buried on plantations and settlements on the mainland, it is evident that more persons were buried on Jamestown Island during the

> first few years than lived there at any time thereafter.[7]

Limited archaeological investigations conducted on Jamestown Island during the 1950's revealed in excess of three hundred burials. The large number of deceased estimated for Virginia at this time indicates the probability of thousands of burials at this location.

The high incidence of death at Jamestown necessitated the expansion of the original burial ground. Samuel Yonge observed:

> By the time the third church was erected, about 1618, the burial ground, in consequence of the frightful mortality, must have grown to considerable proportions, and no site could have seemed more appropriate for it than the ground contiguous to that which had been consecrated as "God's Acre".

The cemetery is estimated to have covered an area of approximately one and one half acres.[8]

Of the numerous burials present at Jamestown, only twenty-five are marked. Gravestones at Jamestown were "rediscovered" through the work of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) in the early twentieth century. Gravestones observed at that time were described by Miss Mary Jeffery Galt as being:

> ...2 or 3 feet below the grass grown surface. They and the church ruins were under heaps of debris and vegetation, the growth and accumulation of many years. I had from time to time dug among this and found many pieces of tombstones, broken fragments left by vandals. These I had reburied for safekeeping[9]

These gravestones were uncovered and preserved through the

efforts of the APVA. Although it is likely that some additional gravestones had been destroyed due to negligence and vandalism, it is probable that the majority of persons were buried in unmarked graves or graves marked with wooden gravemarkers. There was English precedent for each of these alternatives.[10] The number of known burials and the number of additional estimated burials at Jamestown supports this conclusion.

In addition to burials in the churchyard, there were two marked and numerous unmarked burials within the confines of the church. Excavations conducted by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities between 1901 and 1906 revealed at least twenty burials within the chancel of the church. Ten of these burials, located beneath the upper chancel, were associated with the church of 1638, while the ten located beneath the lower chancel were associated with an older structure, possibly the church of 1618.[11] In addition, they discovered an undetermined number of burials beneath the floors of the church, many of the graves containing as many as four skeletons. English precedent dictates that persons buried within the church building, and particularly beneath the chancel, are persons of some status.[12] The dearth of records from the church at Jamestown, however, leaves the identity of those unmarked burials within the church a mystery.

The two marked graves within the church seem to follow the English pattern. One stone marks the grave of a minister

of the church. The other is the only example of a gravestone in the United States which utilizes inset ornamental brasses. This style was used in England to mark the graves of persons of very high status.[13] The brasses are no longer extant, although the impression of a knight in armor, a coat of arms, and a scroll are found on the stone.[14] This gravestone is believed to mark the burial of Sir George Yeardley, who was a knight and an early governor of Virginia.[15]

PLANTATION BURIAL

As early as 1609, settlers began to move from Jamestown into the countryside. In 1609, Captain John Smith, in an attempt to reduce the high death rate, dispersed the settlers to other more healthful localities, with positive results.[16] During the period 1613-1616 there was a high incidence of movement to plantations, facilitated in part by the fact that in 1614 colonists who had arrived in 1607 completed their seven year term of service to the Virginia Company.[17] At the time of the completion of their service, colonists were granted three acres of land if they had a family. Soon after this, Governor Dale established a program whereby "Old Planters" (who had arrived before Spring 1616) received one hundred acres of land when their terms of service were complete, while those who arrived after this date would receive fifty acres of land. In 1617 John Rolfe first experimented with West Indian tobacco, which was believed to be superior to the Virginia variety. The success of this crop is illustrated by Samuel Argall's observation in that

same year that in Jamestown everything was suffering from disrepair and neglect, "the marketplace and streets and all other spare places planted with tobacco."[18] Even more disturbing to Argall, "the Colonie dispersed all about planting Tobacco."

The dispersal of the colony was not a temporary condition. The success of tobacco made the plantation system profitable and the preferable settlement pattern among the colonists. Even when tobacco became a less profitable crop, the colonists continued to prefer plantation living. The preference of the planters did not coincide with the wishes of leaders in England. Orders were issued to each of Virginia's governors to establish towns, and each in turn was unsuccessful.[19] Several English travelers to the Tidewater commented on the settlement patterns in Virginia. In a 1697 account, Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton were quite distressed by the lack of towns, describing Virginia as "one of the poorest, miserablest, and worst countries in all America". They observed that the General Assembly had tried to establish towns, however "the members whereof never having seen a Town nor a well improved Country in their Lives, cannot therefore imagine the Benefit of it."[20] Robert Beverley, in 1705, was no kinder in his assessment noting that "they plant themselves separately on their several small plantations" and identifying this as "an unhappy settlement and course of trade".[21]

This pattern of settlement, with widely dispersed plan-

tations and a lack of towns presented a problem in the burial of the dead. This problem was addressed in a letter from James Blair to Alexander Spotswood, written in 1719:

> But it is a common thing all over the country (what thro' want of ministers, what by their great distance & the heat of the weather, and the smelling of the corps), both to bury at other places than Church yards & to employ Laicks to read the funeral Service; which till our circumstances and laws are altered, we know not how to address.[22]

The practice of plantation burial is further described by Hugh Jones, writing in 1724 that: "The parishes being of great extent (some sixty miles long and upwards) many dead corpses cannot be conveyed to the Church to be buried". This necessitated the custom of interring the deceased "in gardens or orchards where whole families lie interred together, in a spot usually hansomly enclosed, planted with evergreens and the graves kept decently."[23]

Initially, the widely dispersed settlement patterns dictated the practice of plantation burial. The small number of churches located great distances apart and the high incidence of death in the early years would have prohibited churchyard burial for all but those living in close proximity to the church. Once the precedent for plantation burial was set, subsequent generations tended to follow it. Rhys Isaac observed, in his study of Virginia from 1740 to 1790, that although many customs began out of necessity, they soon became deep-rooted traditions.[24] This would be the case with plantation burials.

As the population moved from Jamestown to plantations, concern regarding the burial of the dead was expressed in the laws. In Act I of the General Assembly, enacted on March 5 1623/4, the law decreed:

> That there shall be in every plantation where people use to meet for the worship of God, a house or room sequestered for that purpose...and a place empaled in, sequestered for the burial of the dead.[25]

In 1626, it was again decreed that "a place be stronglie paled or fenced for the burial of the dead.[26] Similar legislation appears in 1631/2 and 1661/2.[27]

Public preference as well as law mandated the enclosure of burial grounds. Plantation owners located their graveyards on high points of land and enclosed them with fences or walls.[28] The enclosure of graveyards may have served more than one purpose. Statutes demanded the enclosure of burial grounds in order to avoid "the barbarous custome of exposeing the corps of the dead...to the prey of hoggs and other vermin."[29] Graveyards may also have been enclosed to sequester them as sacred space.[30] Whatever the purpose, the request for the enclosure of graveyards sometimes appeared in wills. The will of Ralph Langley requested "that I may be decently put into my grave at the common Buriall place here in the old fields and give order to be pailed mine and my wife's grave."[31]

BURIAL AT CHURCHES

As early as 1623, Virginia was divided into parishes. The parish acted as the place for "administration of

religious affairs". Although many parishes did not have church buildings until after the middle of the seventeenth century, many others established churches shortly after the exodus from Jamestown.[32] In the early years of the colony, when transportation was difficult and the death rate was high, only persons living closest to the churches would have opted for burial there. In later years, with improvements in transportation, there would be a choice between the custom of plantation burial and the religiously preferred option of burial at the church. Even with the increase in the number of churches throughout the eighteenth century, plantation burial remained popular.

Colonists faced with the choice between plantation or churchyard burial often specified their wishes in their wills. Most wills do not specify a location, but merely request burial "in a decent manner" or in "Christian Buriall".[33] Other wills demanded burial "in y^{e} usual Burying Place" or at "the common Buriall place".[34] Some wills provide specific information, as in the will of James Burwell:

> ...and my body to the earth to be decently Interred on the plantation whereon I now dwell on a point lying South East from my dwelling house & abutting upon Kings Creek between the Cedar Trees growing upon that point.[35]

Still other wills request burial on plantations, in gardens, and in orchards. Some individuals, such as William Davis, wished to be interred in churchyards or churches in their parish.[36]

Burial within the church also occurs in many of the churches which were established in early Virginia. As in Jamestown and in England, persons buried within the confines were important in the community. Burial within the church was quite costly as is indicated in the charges for burial in Bruton Parish Church:

> for burial in the chancel 1,000 pounds of tobacco or 5 payable to the minister; for burial in the church 500 pounds of tobacco payable to the parish...for digging a grave 10 pounds of tobacco payable to the sexton.[37]

These rates indicate an appreciable difference between burial in the churchyard and in the church building.

CONCLUSIONS

The initial pattern of settlement had a great deal to do with burial patterns which developed after the exodus from Jamestown. In New England, towns had been established in which the church was the focal point, and burials almost always took place there. In Virginia, economic conditions overrode the religious motivation to establish towns.[38] Since Virginia began as an economically oriented settlement, the colonists established plantations to affect efficient production and full utilization of their resources. Thus, plantation cemeteries developed. Additional motives for the choice of plantation cemeteries were the difficulty in transportation, the distance of plantations from churches, and the high death rate. In later years, in spite of improvements in transportation and an increased number of

churches, the custom of plantation burial prevailed. In both Virginia and New England, then, burial patterns can be seen as the result of settlement patterns, religion, and custom.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

1. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs", 33-78; Norman Vardney Mackie, III, "A Socioeconomic History of Gravestone Procurement in Southern Maryland". Paper presented at Society for Historical Archaeology Meetings, Boston, January, 1985.

2. Samuel H. Yonge, "The Site of Old 'James Towne', 1607-1688", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 12 (1905): 38.

3. Carville Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Colonial Virginia" in Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman, eds., The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics (New York and London, 1979),97.

4. George Percy, "Observations by Master George Percy, 1607" in Lyon G. Tyler, ed., Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625 (New York, 1907),20-21.

5. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality", 101-104.

6. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 159.

7. John L. Cotter, Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia (Washington, D.C., 1958),23.

8. Yonge, "James Towne", 38, 43.

9. "Extracts from the APVA Yearbook, 1900-1901" in Cotter, Jamestown, 223.

10. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 28; Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.

11. "APVA Yearbook", 220-221, 223.

12. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 56.

13. Yonge, "James Towne", 44.

14. The brasses were missing at the time of the APVA investigations. See "APVA Yearbook", 219.

15. Information provided from a sign erected by the National Park Service in the church at Jamestown.

16. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality", 107-108, 112.

17. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 82, 90, 96.

18. Earle, "Environment, Disease, and Mortality", 115; Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631, ed. Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley (Edinburgh, 1910) II, 535.

19. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom, 90, 188.

20. Henry Hartwell, James Blair and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia and the College, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg, 1940), 4, 5.

21. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), 57.

22. Bishop William Stevens Perry, ed., Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church (Hartford, 1870) I, 230.

23. Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), 96, 97.

24. Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia, 69.

25. William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 I, 123.

26. H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1925), 105-106.

27. Hening, Statutes I, 158, 241; II, 53.

28. This is similar to Cape May County, New Jersey. See Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs", 36.

29. Hening, Statutes II, 53.

30. Norman V. Mackie, III, 1985, personal communication.

31. Will of Ralph Langley, York County Records, March 26, 1683.

32. Philip Alexander Bruce, Social Life in Old Virginia (New York, 1965), 55, 101.

33. This is a common format used in Virginia wills.

34. Will of Ralph Langley; Will of Robert Dunster, Isle of Wight County Records, May 17, 1656.

35. Will of James Burwell, York County Records, September 6, 1718.

36. Will of William Davis, York County Records, September 24, 1709.

37. Lyon G. Tyler, "Bruton Church," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 3(1895): 249.

38. Murphey, 1978, personal communication.

CHAPTER III

GRAVESTONE FORM, PROCUREMENT, AND DECORATION

In the study of colonial New England gravestones, scholars have been concerned primarily with the examination of carved imagery. New England provides an excellent testing ground for such investigation since the abundance of local stone and the development of a local stonecarving tradition enabled most of the population to procure gravestones. The rich iconography and wide distribution of gravestones, however, are not present in most regions. Researchers outside of New England are often faced with a small number of stones and iconography that is scanty or non-existent, yet these gravestones also warrant study. Their distribution, form, and decoration reveal a great deal about the culture under study.

In regions where gravestones had to be imported, they were usually more costly and limited to a certain segment of the population. This, in turn, made gravestones symbols of status, since only the more influential members of the community could afford to procure them. Such a practice left much of the population with the option of having unmarked graves or graves marked with impermanent wooden markers. At the opposite end of the spectrum, large, ornate stones were indicative of high social status, as was the use of the

coat of arms. In a hierarchical society such as colonial Virginia, the observable relationship between gravestones and status says much about the culture and society of the period.

GRAVESTONE PROCUREMENT

The examination of gravestones from Tidewater Virginia dating from the colonial period yields the relatively small number of two-hundred-and-ten stones. This dearth of stones is due to environmental conditions and also to the origin of gravestones. Settlers in Tidewater Virginia who wished to procure stone gravemarkers were faced with a problem: there was a dearth of local stone in the Tidewater. As a result, residents who wished to have stone markers erected over them at death were forced to import them. Indeed, this was not an unusual practice in the colonial period. Cape May County, New Jersey residents, for instance, imported their gravestones from Philadelphia[1], while inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina looked to New England[2], England, Philadelphia, and elsewhere[3] for their gravestones. Long Island, New York gravestones were imported from New England, New York, and New Jersey[4], and the populace of St. Mary's County, Maryland first imported gravestones from Philadelphia and later from Baltimore and Washington[5].

The source of the overwhelming majority of Tidewater gravestones was England. In fact, Tidewater Virginia depended upon Great Britain for all varieties of stone. In the Public Records Accounts of Imports and Exports to Virginia

and Maryland for the colonial period, there are seventeen types of stone mentioned including "gravestones" and "tombstones".[6] Gravestones and tombstones are listed in these accounts throughout the colonial period and ranged in price from two to nineteen pounds sterling.

Additional records exist which record the importation of stone, including gravestones. In both 1752 and 1756, the Virginia Gazette recorded the arrival of ships containing, among other things, large numbers of sawed stones.[7] The diary of John Blair provides an informative source regarding the arrival of the tombstone of James Blair in 1751:

> 31. JANUARY Rec^{d} a letter from Col^{o} Hunter and Maur^{ce} Jones ab^{t} the tombstone. It is now at the ferry in its way to James Town. I writt to Mr. Travis and Mr. McMacklin to get it out there and into the church yard on my acco^{t}.
>
> 4. FEBRUARY
>
> Mr. McMacklin tells me the tombstone came to Jamestown y^{e} 2^{d}, but low tides hinder y^{e} landing it; ab^{t} w^{ch} he promises me his care.
>
> 21.
>
> 20. sent & found my Tombstone on Shoar.[8]

Finally, a number of individuals requested stones from England in their wills. Robert "King" Carter requested "a monument or tombstone to be sent for to be erected over my grave".[9] William Colston's will ordered "a gravestone to be sent for to lay over the body of my dear wife Anne".[10] The will of William Sherwood is even more specific: "and I Desire that my good friend Jeffry Jeffrys of London Esq^{r} Do Send a Grave Stone to be Laid upon my grave".[11] The will of Sarah Yardley (as recounted in a letter) ordered "y^{t} her best

diamond necklace and Iuell should be sent to england to purchase six diamond rings and two blacke tombstones."[12]

John Custis commanded his executor:

> do lay out and expend as soon as possible after my decease out of my estate the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, money of Great Britain to buy a handsome tombstone of the most durable stone that can be purchased for pillars very decent and handsome to lay over my dead body engraved on the tombstone my coat of arms which are three parrots and my will is that the following inscription may also be handsomely engraved on said stone Under this marble stone lays the body of the Honorable John Custis Esq^r^ of the City of Williamsburgh and Parish of Bruton formerly of Hungars Parish on the Eastern Shoar of Virginia and the County of Northampton the place of his Nativity aged years and yet lived but seven years which was the space of time he kept a Batchelors house at Arlington on the Eastern Shoar of Virginia This inscription put on the stone by his own positive orders.[13]

Engraved on the bottom of the stone is "W^m^ Colley, Mason, in Fenchurch Street London, Fecit."

Other than England, the only source of stone utilized for gravestones in Tidewater Virginia was the quarry at Aquia Creek in Stafford County, northern Virginia.[14] Aquia Creek freestone began to be quarried in the late seventeenth century and a stonecarving tradition developed in the vicinity of the quarry. The material was used in building construction and for a number of gravestones found on the Eastern Shore and throughout northern Virginia. Five gravestones from the study area are made of Aquia Creek freestone. The majority of Virginia colonists who desired

gravestones, however, chose England as the source of their stones.

The origin of imported gravestones in Virginia influences the form of stone chosen. The sentiments represented by gravestones in Virginia closely parallel those of their English counterparts.

GRAVESTONE FORM

In order to further understand the significance of the monuments of Tidewater Virginia, one must examine their form. Although Jamestown, Virginia was settled in 1607, the oldest extant gravestone dates to 1637, with fewer than ten dating before 1670. This indicates that stone markers were considered a luxury item rather than a necessity in the early years of the colony, and it can be assumed that most of the earliest burials were unmarked, or marked with wooden markers. Unmarked burials were not an unusual circumstance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they occurred in England,[15] New England,[16] and New Jersey,[17] among other places. In England, persons other than the elite were often buried in unmarked graves, and wooden markers are known to have occurred quite frequently.[18] In the colonies, the use of wooden markers has been documented from Charleston and coastal South Carolina and Georgia.[19] No examples exist from the Chesapeake.[20]

In Virginia, due to the cost of importation, only persons of means could acquire gravestones; thus, gravestones became symbols of status. The small number of persons for

whom gravestones exist (210) were persons of some status in the community.[21] As John Weever illustrated, people in England used different types of funerary monuments according to their station in life:

> Sepvlchres fhould bee made according to the qualities and degree of the perfon deceafed that by the Tombe eueryone might be difcerned of what rank hee was liuing.

He continued:

> Perfons of the meaner fort of Gentrie were interred with a flat graueftone... Noblemen...had...their Tombes and Sepvlchres raifed aloft aboue the ground to note the excellence of their ftate and dignitie.[22]

This system continued in Virginia, where individuals of higher stations had stone markers varying in degrees of sophistication.

The styles of stones utilized in colonial Tidewater Virginia were the box tomb, the flat slab, the table tomb, the obelisk and the headstone. All of these styles were in use in Post-Reformation England. The flat slab, which Weever associated with "the meaner fort of Gentrie", was the most popular, with 112 examples. Box tombs, table tombs and obelisks were all monuments "raifed aloft aboue the ground", and indicative of status. Sixty one box tombs, one table tomb, and two obelisks are present in the Tidewater. The remaining 21 identifiable stones are headstones, a style of marker which is not a particularly sensitive status indicator. The predominance of the larger stones attests to the social

and economic prestige of those who were able to afford importation.[23]

A large number of wills specifically requested that burial places be marked with a stone and several left explicit instructions for the executors. Robert "King" Carter requested a stone "of about the same value of my last wife's tombstone, with a proper inscription."[24] William Sherwood instructed that his stone have the following inscription: here Lies William Sherwood that was born in the parrish of White Chappel near London a great sinner waiting for a joyfull Resurrection."[25] Others, such as the will of Mary Whalley describe the desired stone in great detail: "and my will and desire is to be buryed in Belfound Church Yard under a handsome black marble stone underpropd by a Settle of Stone fit for that purpose between three and four foot high from the ground and I allow one hundred pounds sterling for the expence of my funeral (including the tombstone)".[26]

Upon the arrival of the gravestone at the cemetery, someone had to place it in the graveyard. In many cases, this may have been the task of the bricklayers and builders. The account book of brickmaker and builder Humphrey Harwood makes several references to tombstones. For instance, there is a reference "To putting up a Tombstone" for John Greenhow.[27] In the Briggs-Gray Account Book, a debt is listed to Copeland Davis (Bricklayer) in 1769 for "laying stone".[28] Since brickwork often forms the base upon which a flat slab rests, persons skilled at brickwork may have often been

responsible for putting stones in graveyards. A document "Directions for Seting up Tombs" describes the process as follows:

> Viz.
> Sink into the ground deep enough to lay five or six courses of brick (by way of foundations) to rise within an inch of the surface/which foundation should extend five or six Inches wider then the plinth of the Tomb all round,...then Set the plinth w N^{O} 1 to the Head of the Vault, take care it is Levell, y^{e} proceed to the Base N^{O} 1 over N^{O} 1 on y^{e} plinth, N^{O} 2 over N^{O} 2 &c, when the pannels are Set Stiffen the Corners w^{t} a little brick work y^{e} lay on the Cornice, & the rest will follow of Course.
>
> Proceed w^{t} the other in like manner N^{O} 5 on y^{e} plinth to the Head of the Vault &c ---- if the Situation will admit they may be rais'd four or five Courses of brick above the Surface of the ground, & y^{e} earth slop'd up all round, which will give y^{t} a better Effect.[29]

GRAVESTONE DECORATION

The majority of gravestones from Tidewater Virginia are undecorated. The examples which are decorated most often bear bas relief carvings. Imagery most often depicted on these stones includes coats of arms, skulls and soul imagery. In addition, figures such as cherubs and skulls are depicted on the side panels of box tombs. In one instance, inlaid brasses were utilized as gravestone decoration.

The gravestone in the interior of the church at Jamestown, which has been tentatively identified as that of Sir George Yeardley, is unique in Virginia and throughout the English colonies. It is reminiscent of English medieval gravestones

in that individuals of high rank often were commemorated with stone markers with brass inlays.[30] Although the brasses from the Jamestown marker are missing, the outline of the figure of a knight and a coat of arms can be discerned. It has been identified as follows:

> This grave stone, until they were stolen or removed and thus lost, carried "monumental brasses" (a helmeted knight in armor with inscription plate below, a shield and scroll and a border). These brass inserts were attached to the stone as the depressions show in outline. It is believed to mark the grave of Sir George Yeardley long time resident and leader at Jamestown (from 1609) and several times governor of the Virginia colony...He died at Jamestown on November 12, 1627.[31]

This may be the oldest extant gravestone in the colony and the English-speaking New World. The oldest inscribed stone known in Virginia is dated 1637, so it is likely that the Jamestown stone is older.

From the Middle Ages, the English used the coat of arms as a distinguishing sign of the "gentleman". Coats of arms were often used in death imagery, appearing upon coffins and tombstones.[32] The overwhelming majority of tombstones depicted in English Mural Monuments and Tombstones by Herbert Batsford make use of coats of arms either as primary or secondary imagery.[33] This practice continued in Virginia, where coats of arms became the predominant form of imagery used to decorate Tidewater gravestones. About one third of the stones in the Tidewater bore a coat of arms; a roughly equivalent number of stones designated the deceased as

gentlemen in the inscriptions. The importance of social station, which the Virginia colonists so valued, was thus personified in the use of coats of arms.

The skull and cross bones is the second most prevalent motif used on Virginia gravestones. A most impressive example of this genre is the John Champion stone at Travis graveyard on Jamestown Island. This stone, and others like it, portrays a skull with a laurel leaf crown and crossed bones carved within a circle. The imagery of wreaths of flowers or leaves hearkens back to the practice of leaving such wreaths on the grave of the deceased.[34] The image of the skull garlanded with laurel leaves can be viewed as a symbol of the victory of death,[35] or, conversely, as a symbol of the triumph of life over death. The majority of these stones date from the last decade of the seventeenth century or the first decade of the eighteenth century. This date coincides with the period of popularity for the use of the garland on English stones.[36] This motif is used on slightly more than a dozen stones in this survey.

The "soul imagery" which appears on the tomb of Dr. Richard Edwards and the companion tomb, which is now illegible appears to be a simplified copy of the skull and crossbones genre. These tombs are fashioned of Aquia freestone and were probably produced by local carvers in the area of the quarry. These motifs lack garlands, but do make use of crossed bones. The head appearing on the stones does not appear to be a skull, but may have been meant to

represent one. The Edwards stone dates from 1721, sometime after the period when the garlanded skulls were popular. This may have been due to a time lag between the popularity of the style in England and its adoption by the Aquia carvers.

The final type of imagery found on Tidewater gravestones appears on the side panels of some box tombs. The imagery includes the skull, cherub, hourglass, drapery and flowers. The drapery imagery represents the drapery which was used on hearses, the latter of which were often left at the gravesite to mark the grave.[37] On tombs with this motif, cherubs and/or skulls are often depicted as peeking out from behind the drapery. The cherubs represent the immortal component of the deceased and the hope for Resurrection, while the skull represents the corruptible nature of the deceased. The combination of these motifs may be seen to represent the triumph of life over death. Another motif used is the winged hourglass, representative of the fleeting nature of life. As the New England Primer noted "As runs the Glafs, Man's Life doth pafs".[38] Flowers, another symbol of life, also appear on some box tombs.

CONCLUSIONS

In Virginia, the scarcity of local stone necessitated the importation of gravestones. Since the purchase of a gravestone required a considerable outlay of money, many members of the lower classes were buried in unmarked graves or graves which may have been marked by wooden gravemarkers.

Because of the cost involved, gravestones thus became symbols of status. Conversely, the local availability of stone in New England allowed gravemarkers to be used by a wider segment of the population. As a result, gravestones were not a sensitive item of status in New England.

The importance of status in Virginia society can be seen in the styles of gravemarkers chosen to decorate graves. Flat slabs and box tombs, both of which were the markers of the gentry in England, comprised the overwhelming majority of stones used in Virginia. When iconography appeared on stones, the coat of arms, the traditional symbol of elevated social station, was the favorite. Both style and decoration varied in New England. There, the headstone was the standard form chosen and the predominant forms of iconography which decorated the stones (the death's-head, cherub, and urn and willow) were reflective of religious beliefs, particularly the death's-heads and cherubs. The differences between New England and Virginia are clearly illustrated by these differences in style and decoration among gravestones.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

1. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs", 83.

2. Beatrice St. James Ravenal, "Here Lies Buried: Taste and Trade in Charleston Tombstones", Antiques 41(1942): 193.

3. Elizabeth Crowell "Gravestones and Cemeteries in Charleston, South Carolina, 1830-1860". Unpublished manuscript, 1979.

4. Gaynell Stone Levine, "Colonial Long Island Gravestones: Trade Network Indicators, 1670-1799" in Peter Benes, ed., Annual Proceedings for the Dublin Seminar on New England Folklife: Puritan Gravestone Art II (Boston, 1978), 47.

5. Mackie, "A Socioeconomic History of Gravestone Procurement in Southern Maryland".

6. Public Records Office, London, 3/1-3/75 (Microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library).

7. Virginia Gazette, 29 December 1752 (Hunter); 12 September 1766 (Purdie and Dixon)

8. Lyon G. Tyler, ed. "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 7(1899): 136; 8(1899): 2.

9. "Will of Robert 'King' Carter," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 5(1898): 408.

10. "Will of William Colston," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 17(1908): 81.

11. "Will of William Sherwood," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 17(1909): 270.

12. "Letter form Lower Norfolk County Records, 1 February 1697 regarding the purchase of six diamond rings and two black tombstones for Mrs. Yardley. Signed Nicholas Trott." William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 4(1896): 170.

13. Will of John Custis, Extracted from the Principal Registry of the Probate Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, 1749. Custis Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society.

14. Patrick H. Butler "On the Memorial Art of Tidewater Virginia," (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, 1969), 66.

15. Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.

16. Deetz, 1977, personal communication.

17. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs", 89.

18. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 27.

19. Parker, "O'er Neptune's Waters I've Crossed".

20. Documentary data has been consulted and archaeological records checked, however, no concrete evidence of wooden gravemarkers has been forthcoming.

21. See Norman V. Mackie, III, "Funerary Treatment and Social Status: A Case Study of Colonial Tidewater Virginia," (M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1986). This study statistically examines historic gravestone data to test certain theories forwarded in prehistoric (archaeological) mortuary studies.

22. Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.

23. Thirteen stones in the study were fragmentary and unidentifiable according to style.

24. "Will of Robert 'King' Carter", 408.

25. "Will of William Sherwood", 270.

26. "Will of Mrs. Mary Whaley," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 4(1895): 14.

27. Humphrey Harwood Account Book, 1776-1794, 19. Microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

28. Briggs-Gray Account Book, 1758-1788, 180. Virginia Historical Society.

29. Maryland Historical Society Manuscript collection, MS. 2001.

30. Yonge, "James Towne", 44.

31. Information obtained from National Park Service sign in the church at Jamestown.

32. Lyon G. Tyler, "Coats of Arms in Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 1st. ser., 1(1892): 113.

33. Herbert Batsford, English Mural Monuments and Tombstones (London, 1916).

34. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 179.

35. Butler, "Memorial Art", 67.

36. Burgess, English Churchyard Memorials, 179.

37. Butler, "Memorial Art", 36.

38. Ludwig, Graven Images, 89.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS AND EPITAPHS

An analysis of inscriptions can reveal a great deal about the religion and culture of the group being studied. In Virginia, evidence of the hierarchical society is present in inscriptions. The presence of titles, emphasis on ancestry, and use of Latin are all indicative of status. In addition, an analysis of ritual phrases on gravestones in Virginia reveals information about religious beliefs.

Epitaphs, too, are sensitive analytical tools. They can be defined as statements written to honor the deceased and instruct the living. Weever noted:

> Of all fvnerall honours...Epitaphs have alwayes beene moft refpective for in them loue was shewed to the deceafed, Memorie was continued to pofteritie, friends were comforted and the Reader put in mind of humane frailtie.[1]

In Virginia, the majority of stones did not have epitaphs. When present, epitaphs were most often the type which lauded the earthly achievements of the deceased; a smaller number carried messages to the living to prepare for death. An analysis of Virginia epitaphs will be compared with findings from New England.

INSCRIPTIONS

The wealth of information which can be learned from

inscriptions is boundless. Inscriptions can reveal information as varied as the importance of social status and the existence of epidemic disease. The analysis of inscriptions from Virginia gravestones provides insight into the culture. For the purpose of this study inscriptions from all gravestones in the study area will be analyzed.

The importance of social rank and ancestry becomes apparent in the analysis of Virginia gravestones. The designation of gentlemen by title is in evidence on tombstones from the 1670s to the 1750s, though less so thereafter. The use of the Latin term "Armiger" and the terms "Gentleman" and "Esquire" identifies the deceased as a gentleman. The use of these terms, in effect, separates these individuals from persons not entitled to use them, and is an indication of the class system. Forty-three (20%) of the total number of stones found used these terms and marked the graves of men.

The status of women was generally described according to the status of husband and/or father. If a woman was descended from the upper classes, she was listed as the daughter of a gentleman. For instance, Mary Booth, wife of Thomas Booth (gentleman), was listed as "the daughter of Mordecai Cooke, Gentleman".[2] Conversely, a woman married to a gentleman, but not of gentility herself, would be listed only as the wife of a gentleman. In only one case did a woman receive a title of her own:

Here lyeth Interred the Body

> of M^{rs} Mary Mann, of the
> County of Gloucester in the
> Collony of Virginia Gentle Wom
> who Departed this life the 18th
> day of March 1703/4 Aged 56 yeares[3]

Of the total number of women's stones studied, twenty-one (10%) of the inscriptions indicated gentle status.

Another important manifestation of class consciousness is the concern with ancestry. For one to be entitled to use a coat of arms or a title, one's ancestry had to be legitimate. An example of this is the gravestone of Major Lewis Burwell:

> To the lasting memory of Major Lewis Burwell
> Of the County of Gloucester in Virginia,
> Gentleman, who descended from the
> Ancient family of Burwells, of the
> Counties of Bedford and Northampton,
> In England nothing more worthy in his
> Birth than virtuous in his life, exchanged
> This life for a better on the 19th day of
> November in the 33^{d} year of his age A.D. 1658[4]

The concern with ancestry is also present in the inscriptions of individuals who are not specifically listed as gentlemen. In these cases, the country of origin of the deceased is stressed. Thus following, the inscription of Iohn Herbert:

> Here lyeth Interred the Body of
> Iohn Herbert son of Iohn Herber(t)
> Apothecary and Grandsonn of
> Richard Herbert Citizen & Groce(r)
> of London who departed this Life
> the 17th day of March 1704 in the
> 46th year of his age[5]

Other examples include the stone of James Grinley of Dunbar and William Chamberlayne, "Descended of an ancient & Worthy Family in the County of Hereford".[6]

Sixteen gravestones (7.5%) used Latin inscriptions, the

use of Latin signifying education. All of the stones with Latin inscriptions contained indication of gentility either through use of the coat of arms or through the use of a title in the inscription.

All of these examples indicate the importance of class, ancestry; and family ties. In Virginia society, individuals associated with and married people of the same or similar social station. Further, at death, gravestone inscriptions were utilized to convey the social status of the deceased to the living community.

Another aspect of inscriptions which demands analysis is the introductory ritual phrase. In the study of New England gravestones, James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen discovered the importance of these phrases to the meaning of the stone.[7] Changes in the use of these phrases signalled changes in the attitudes of New Englanders toward death and in their religious beliefs. On the earliest stones, the use of "Here lies" and "Here lies Buried" indicates that the body of the deceased is buried; however, no mention is made of the fate of the soul. These ritualistic phrases appeared on death's-heads stones. The adoption of "Here lies the Body of" suggests that the soul may be elsewhere. This phrase was associated with the cherub design and can be seen to represent a softening of orthodox puritanism since there would no longer be predestination to prohibit the thought of the soul being in heaven. The final change in use of ritual phrases is associated with the urn and willow stone. "In Memory of" and

"Sacred to the Memory of" express sentiments significantly different from their predecessors. No reference to either the mortal or immortal component of the deceased is mentioned; rather, they are memorial statements in honor of the deceased. Use of these phrases and the urn and willow stone represented depersonalization and secularization in religion.

In Virginia, the use of ritual phrases is significantly different. "Here lies" is nearly nonexistent. The overwhelming majority of the stones (141 or 67%) used "Here lies the body". Another eighteen (9%) utilized the statement "Under this stone lies the body". Since the second statement illustrates the same idea as the first, it can be handled in the same category. Therefore, 159 (76%) of the stones studied utilized inscriptions which indicate that the soul has departed from the body to go on to its final reward. The use of "Here lies the body" is substantially earlier in Virginia than it is in New England. This difference is readily explained since the use of "Here lies the body" occurs about fifty years earlier in England, from which Virginia imported stones, than it does in New England. In addition, the early presence of "Here lies the body" indicates that religious emphases were different in Virginia.

The use of "In Memory of" appears on 21 (10%) of the stones. It does not appear to be indicative of any major change in mindset since it randomly occurs throughout the colonial period. The remaining 30 (14%) of the stones studied fall into the miscellaneous category. Twenty-seven

(13%) of these open the inscription with either the name or the initials of the deceased. The remaining three used "Here lies".

The use of "Here lies the body" indicates the hope for a better life to come. On 27 (13%) of the stones studied there is specific mention of the hope for a glorious resurrection. Mention of resurrection occurs as early as the 1690s and continues throughout the entire period. There is no increase in the mention of resurrection in connection with the Great Awakening as there is in New England.

Use of these rirual phrases seems to indicate that the religious feeling of the Virginians during the colonial period was dominated by a hope for a better life after death. The doctrine of orthodox Puritanism as evidenced in New England indicated that some would be saved and some would be damned. The idea of hope for resurrection does not correlate with the use of the death's-head motif. Not until the coming of the Great Awakening and the appearance of the cherub motif in New England does one find mention of resurrection. Throughout the colonial period in Virginia there were no religious teachings which limited the mention of resurrection on gravestones.

EPITAPHS

Epitaphs in Virginia closely follow John Weever's description.[8] Of the total number of stones studied, only 49 (23.3%) contained epitaphs. A number of the early examples are merely two line statements about the person,

such as the epitaph of William Hunt in 1694: "Whose Birth was Joy But the day of his death was sorrowful"[9] Another example, on the stone of Sarah Blair, in 1713, described her as: "exceedingly beloved and lamented".[10] Statements such as these express the worth of the deceased and the feelings of loss expressed by the survivors.

The second category of epitaphs which appears on colonial Virginia tombstones is very similar to the type described by Deetz as appearing on the urn and willow stones. This type of epitaph describes the virtues of the deceased. The epitaph of Lucy Berkeley provides an excellent example:

> I shall not pretend to give her full
> Character; it would take too much room
> for a Grave stone; shall only say that
> She never neglected her duty to her
> Creator in Publick or Private. She was
> Charitable to the poor; a kind mistress
> and indulgent mother & obedient wife.
> She never in all the time she lived
> with her Husband gave him so much
> as once cause to be displeased with Her[11]

Such epitaphs describe the virtues of the deceased in terms of the utmost flattery. The epitaph of Doctor William Cocke provides another excellent example:

> He was learned and polite,
> of indisputed Skill in his profession,
> of unbounded Generosity in his practice:
> which multitudes, yet alive, can testify.
> He was, many years, of the council
> and Secretary of State, for this Colony
> In the Reign of QUEEN ANNE & of KING GEORGE
> He died Suddenly, sitting a Judge upon the Bench
> of the General Court in the Capitol: MDCCXX
> His Hon: Friend Alex^{r} Spotswood, Esq^{r} then Gov^{r}
> with the principal Gentlemen of the Country,
> attended his Funeral, and, weeping, saw the
> Corps Interred at the West side of the Alter,
> in this Church.[12]

This type of epitaph occurs throughout the late sevebteenth and eighteenth centuries, becoming most prevalent in the middle eighteenth century. The appearance of this type of epitaph is significantly earlier than in New England.

The third type of epitaph occurs in small numbers throughout the colonial period. It appears in the form of a poem, whose purpose seems to be a lesson to the reader, as is evidenced in the epitaph of Alice Myles:

> Reader, her dust is here Inclosed
> who was of witt and grace composed
> Her life was Vertuous during Breath
> But Highly Glorious in her death[13]

Such epitaphs may remind the reader of death, or, conversely, remind the reader of the hope for eternal life. Epitaphs with both messages exist simultaneously. The epitaph of Judith Greenhow from 1765 is reminiscent of the epitaphs which accompany death's-heads in New England:

> How loved how valued once avails thee not
> To whom Related or by Whom begot!
> A heap of Dust alone remains of thee
> So all thou art, and all the proud shall be.[14]

This epitaph makes a strong statement about social status. Beginning in the 1760's the use of coats of arms and of titles was declining. The grim reminder that regardless of one's class everyone's fate was the same makes a definite statement against class differences.

Other epitaphs of this type provide the function of consoling the reader. The epitaph of Thomas Williams provides an excellent example:

> MORN NOT FOR ME MY FRIENDS AND CHILDREN DEAR

I AM NOT DEAD BUT ONLY SLEEPING HERE
FROM SIN AND WORLDLY CARES I AM FREE AND BLIST
WHERE WEARY SOULS RETIRE AND ARE AT REST
MY DEBT IS PAID BEHOLD MY GRAVE YOU SEE
WAIT GOD'S APPOINTED TIME
YOU'LL COME TO ME[15]

This type of epitaph performs the function of consolation yet still reminds the reader of his ultimate fate.

As is evidenced from this analysis, epitaphs in colonial Virginia emphasize the virtue of the deceased, reemphasize the importance of status, and provide a message to the reader. There are no definitive periods of popularity for certain types of epitaphs as in New England, rather all types appear throughout the colonial period.

CONCLUSIONS

Inscriptions and epitaphs on Tidewater gravestones reiterate the importance of status in colonial Virginia society. Titles such as "Gentleman", "Esquire", and "Armiger" were used to define the place of the deceased in the hierarchical order. The position of women was also established through inscriptions, with women gaining their status through that held by their fathers or husbands. Ancestry is also emphasized on Virginia gravestones, the concern for which allowed the living to justify their position in society. Finally, the predominance of epitaphs which laud the achievements of the deceased is also indicative of status. This type of epitaph not only commemorates the individual's accomplishments, but reiterates that the deceased and his

family were important in the community.

Ritual phrases in colonial Tidewater Virginia indicate a hope for resurrection. This hopeful sentiment is also present in some epitaphs of the period. Unlike New England, where an early belief in predestination existed, Virginians did not hold such a belief. Consequently, there was no fear in using ritual phrases which reflected the hope for a better world to come.

A comparison of findings from Virginia and New England shows many additional differences. No known study has been conducted of the sensitivity of New England gravestones as status indicators; casual observation, however, indicates that status was not as strongly emphasized as in Virginia. The worldly accomplishments of the deceased in New England were first stressed on urn and willow stones, which were representative of a secularization in religion. Prior to that, New Englanders were more concerned with death and religion.

In both inscriptions and epitaphs, New England gravestones were characterized by a change in sentiment over time. In Virginia, conversely, no such temporal change occurs; rather, all varieties of ritual phrases and epitaphs occur simultaneously. This can be explained by major changes in New England religious beliefs which, in turn, caused changes in worldview. By contrast, the religious condition in the Tidewater remained more stagnant, and any religious revivals which did occur did not affect the strongly Anglican Virginia

families.

In both Virginia and New England, gravestones served the purpose of instructing the living. Both areas produced gravestones which told their readers to "Prepare for Death". In Virginia, however, gravestones served the added purpose of instructing the living about the structure of Virginia's hierarchical society. This allowed for a reverence of the deceased and a respect for his living descendents.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

1. Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.
2. Mary Booth stone, Gloucester County, 1723
3. Mary Mann stone, Gloucester County, 1703/4
4. Major Lewis Burwell stone, Abingdon Church, 1658
5. Iohn Herbert stone, Old Blandford, Petersburg, 1704
6. James Grinley stone, Bruton Parish Church, 1763
7. Dethlefsen and Deetz, "Death's Heads, Cherubs and Willow Trees", 506, 507; Deetz, Small Things, 71-73.
8. Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.
9. William Hunt stone, 1694
10. Sarah Blair stone, Jamestown, 1713
11. Lucy Berkeley stone, Middlesex County, 1716
12. Dr. William Cocke stone, Bruton Parish Church, 1720
13. Alice Myles stone, Surry County, 1650
14. Judith Greenhow stone, Bruton Parish Church, 1765
15. Thomas Williams stone, Petersburg, 1763

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This analysis of gravestones and burial practices from Tidewater Virginia has yielded some general patterns reflective of a discrete regional tradition. These patterns can be compared with those of other regions.

In Virginia, burial patterns were determined by settlement patterns, environment, and methods of transportation available during the colonial period. The establishment of large plantations and widely dispersed churches necessitated the use of the plantation cemetery. Although the plantation cemetery was established out of necessity, the custom of burial on family plantations persisted long after it was a need. Lyon Tyler observed:

> As very many Virginians could not die when the weather and roads were good, or in the vicinity of a churchyard burial near a home was an absolute necessity, and the custom strengthened by time and love and respect for those interred in the "family burial ground" has continued to the present day. The very large and rapid changes in ownership since the Civil War and consequent neglect of family burial grounds is now causing a general increase in the number of public cemetaries.[1]

Persons who resided close to the church were often buried at the church, while others, such as Robert "King" Carter, established churches to accomodate their family burial

grounds.

A cursory observation of burial patterns, as they are exhibited in the present location of gravestones, can be misleading. The present location of a gravestone is not necessarily its original location. In Virginia and in other areas, gravestones were sometimes moved to churchyards from their original locations in plantation cemeteries.[2] This removal of gravestones, as a rule, took place in the later nineteenth or twentieth centuries, usually due to fear of gravestone loss or neglect. At Bruton Parish Church, 5 (16%) of the gravestones dating to the colonial period had been moved in from elsewhere. An important source for the original locations of gravestones are the printed inscriptions and epitaphs which were recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[3] These accounts record not only the inscriptions, but the locations of the gravestones as well. The original location of gravestones is important to the gravestone student who wishes to do a spatial-locational analysis of gravestones; by looking at the present location of gravestones, the gravestone scholar could misinterpret colonial burial patterns.

The analysis of gravestone attributes and historical documentation yielded interesting findings. The mere presence of a gravestone was a symbol of social status. Since gravestones were an imported commodity, this escalated the price and thus made gravestones available only to those people with large capital resources. This was not solely

an economic phenomenon, however. Throughout the colonial period Virginians perpetuated the status-oriented society of England, choosing not only to import English commodities, but English traditions as well. When Virginians memorialized their dead, they did not select the small, modest headstone, but instead chose the large box tombs and flat slabs which John Weever identified as signs of the gentry in England.[4] In addition, those who were entitled chose to decorate their stones with the traditional representation of status, the coat of arms. Morris Talpalar noted:

> It was the way of their world -- not a mark of pomposity, for social station to be based on terms of distinction, and they were always very careful to include the titles they claimed on all documents and legal papers.[5]

The deceaseds' names, when they appeared on gravestones, were modified by titles, and ancestry was often mentioned. Epitaphs often stressed the importance of the deceased, listing his or her position, accomplishments and/or virtues. Notwithstanding, the majority of persons were buried in unmarked graves or in graves marked with wooden "grave rayles" which have since deteriorated.

The study of Virginia gravestones and burial patterns, however, has more important ramifications. The Virginia data, when compared to that of other areas, yields interesting similarities and differences. James Deetz noted that isolated regional traditions developed during the colonial period; in fact, patterns which appear in Virginia vary

radically from those in New England.

The form and meaning of gravestones chosen in the two areas differed. In New England, the abundance of local stone and the established stonecarving tradition allowed most persons to procure a gravestone. The majority of these were modest headstones, thus little difference in status was indicated by the style of gravemarker chosen. Conversely, the dearth of stone in the Tidewater necessitated the importation of gravestones, and gravestones subsequently became symbols of status. Much of the population could not procure stone markers, and many graves were unmarked. The imagery utilized for gravestone decoration also differed radically from region to region. New Englanders chose to mark their graves predominantly with headstones which bore a rich array of imagery, mostly associated with death, the afterlife, and mourning. In addition, New England gravestone imagery changed over time, with the pattern of the appearance and disappearance of motifs correlating with religious and social change.

In Virginia, the overwhelming number of box tombs and flat slabs indicates the importance of status, as does the choice of the coat of arms as the predominant form of gravestone decoration. In burial patterns as well, differences can be observed. Locational distribution of burials depended upon settlement patterns and religious influence. Plantation burial was established because of the great distances which had to be travelled to reach the church. The

dispersed settlement and the dearth of towns in Virginia made plantation burial a necessity. In New England, where people lived in nucleated villages and small farms, churchyard burials occurred. The Puritans established towns in New England for religious purposes and, thus, religion was central to all aspects of life, including burial practices. Conversely, the Virginia colony was established with commercial endeavors in mind. Virginians were religious, but were not controlled to the same degree by religion as were the New Englanders. Another important observation is that a distinct isolated tradition developed in New England in the form and decoration of gravestones. By contrast, Tidewater Virginia remained closely tied to the mother country and the gravemarkers utilized were of English design and manufacture. In many aspects of their culture, due to the close ties with England, Virginians remained more "English" than their New England counterparts.

Gravestones and burial patterns in Tidewater Virginia and elsewhere must be viewed in a holistic manner -- as part of the custom and tradition of the period, and as a part of life. Gravestones and burial patterns together can be seen as the final step in the rites of passage in that they represent the final part of the ritual surrounding death. As material culture, they reveal information about the culture and the individual they memorialize. They serve their purpose, both in the past and in the present, of transmitting a message to the Reader. This student has benefitted from

the message of the stones.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER V

1. Lyon G. Tyler, "Virginia in 1677", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 22(1914): 146n.

2. In Cape May County, New Jersey, 33% of the stones (1740-1780) had been moved from their original locations. See Elizabeth A. Crowell, "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs", 76.

3. Early recordings of inscriptions can be found in the William and Mary Quarterly (1st Series); in early issues of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography; and in books devoted to the subject. One important source is Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia (Baltimore, 1866).

4. John Weever, Ancient Fvnerall Monvments, 10.

5. Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia (New York, 1968),253-254.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES: ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Research Library.
Humphrey Harwood Account Book (microfilm).
Isle of Wight County Wills (microfilm).
Public Records Office, 3/1-3/75 (microfilm).
Virginia Gazette (Hunter; Purdie and Dixon).
York County Wills

Maryland Historical Society. Manuscripts Division.
MS. 2001.

Virginia Historical Society. Manuscripts Division.
Briggs-Gray Account Book.
Custis Family Papers.

II. PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Arber, Edward, and Bradley, A.G., eds. Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, President of Virginia and Admiral of New England, 1580-1631, Volume II. Edinburgh, 1910.

Beverley, Robert. The History and Present State of Virginia. Edited by Louis B. Wright. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1947.

"Extracts from the A.P.V.A. Yearbook, 1900-1901." In Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia, by John L. Cotter. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958, 219-225.

Hartwell, Henry, Blair, James, and Chilton, Edward. The Present State of Virginia and the College. Edited by Hunter Dickinson Farish. Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1940.

Hening, William Waller. The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia, from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619. 13 Volumes. New York:R., W., and G. Bartow, 1823.

Jones, Hugh. The Present State of Virginia From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina. Edited by Richard L. Morton. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Virginia Historical Society, 1956.

"Letter from Lower Norfolk County Records." William and Mary Quarterly (1st. series) 4(1896): 170.

McIlwaine, H.R., ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia. 6 volumes. Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1930.

Percy, George. "Observations by Master George Percy, 1607." In Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625, edited by Lyon G. Tyler. New York: C. Scribners Sons, 1907.

Perry, William Stevens, ed. Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church. Volume I, Virginia. Hartford, Conn.: Church Press Company, 1870.

Tyler, Lyon G., ed. "Diary of John Blair." William and Mary Quarterly (1st Series) 7(1899): 133-153; 8(1899): 1-17.

Weever, John. Ancient Fvnerall Monvments. London, 1631.

"Will of Robert 'King' Carter" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 5(1898): 408.

"Will of William Colston." William and Mary Quarterly (1st series) 17(1908): 81.

"Will of William Sherwood." William and Mary Quarterly (1st. series) 17(1909): 268-273.

III. SECONDARY SOURCES: BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Batsford, Herbert. English Mural Monuments and Tombstones. London: B.T. Batsford Inc., 1916.

Breen, Timothy H. "Creative Adaptions: Peoples and Cultures." In Colonial British America, edited by Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1984.

Bruce, Philip Alexander. Social Life in Old Virginia. New York: MacMillan Company, 1907.

Burgess, Frederick. English Churchyard Memorials. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963.

Cotter, John L. Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1958.

Crowell, Elizabeth A. and Mackie, Norman V. III. "'Depart from Hence and Keep This Thought in Mind': The Importance of Comparative Analysis in Gravestone Research." Northeast Historical Archaeology 14 (1985): 9-16.

Deetz, James J.F. "A Cognitive Model for American Material Culture: 1620-1835." In Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions, edited by Robert L. Schuyler. Farmingdale, New York: Baywood Publishing Company, 1978.

_____ In Small Things Forgotten. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1977.

Deetz, James J.F. and Dethlefsen, Edwin. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees." American Antiquity 31(1966): 502-510.

Earle, Carville. "Environment, Disease, and Mortality in Colonial Virginia." In The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics, edited by Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman. New York and London: W.W. Norton Company, Inc., 1979.

Forbes, Harriette Merrifield. Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1927.

Isaac, Rhys. The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982.

Levine, Gaynell Stone. "Colonial Long Island Gravestones." In Annual Proceedings for the Dublin Seminar on New England Folklife: Puritan Gravestone Art II, edited by Peter Benes. Boston: Boston University Press, 1978.

Ludwig, Allan I. Graven Images. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.

Meade, Bishop WIlliam. Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1866.

merican Slavery, American Freedom.

Morgan, Edmund S. American Slavery, American Freedom. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1975.

Ravenal, Beatrice St. James. "Here Lies Buried: Taste and Trade in Charleston Tombstones." Antiques 41(1942): 193-195.

Spaulding, Albert C. "The Dimensions of Archaeology." In Essays in the Science of Culture In Honor of Leslie A. White, edited by Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro. New York: Thomas Crowell, 1960.

Talpalar, Morris. The Sociology of Colonial Virginia. New York: Philosophical Library, 1968.

Tyler, Lyon G. "Bruton Church." William and Mary Quarterly (1st series) 3(1895): 169-180.

_____ "Coats of Arms in Virginia." William and Mary Quarterly (1st. series) 1(1892): 113.

_____ "Virginia in 1677." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 22(1914): 140-149.

Yonge, Samuel H. "The Site of Old 'James Towne', 1607-1688" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 12(1905): 33-54.

SECONDARY SOURCES: UNPUBLISHED ARTICLES, THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Butler, Patrick. "On the Memorial Art of Tidewater Virginia." M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware, 1969.

Crowell, Elizabeth A. "Gravestones and Cemeteries in Charleston, South Carolina." Unpublished manuscript, 1979.

_____ "Migratory Monuments and Missing Motifs: An Archaeological Analysis of Mortuary Art in Cape May County, New Jersey, 1740-1820." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983.

Mackie, Norman V. III. "Funerary Treatment and Social Status: A Case Study of Colonial Tidewater Virginia." M.A. Thesis, College of William and Mary, 1986.

_____ "A Socioeconomic History of Gravestone Procurement in Southern Maryland." Paper presented at the

Society for Historical Archaeology Meetings, Boston, January, 1985.

Parker, Jeffrey S. "O'er Neptunes Waters I've Crossed: A New Perspective on the Ancient Tradition of Wooden Grave Markers." Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology Meetings, Boston, January, 1985.

V. PERSONAL INTERVIEWS

Deetz, James J.F. College of William and Mary. Personal communication, October 1977.

Mackie, Norman V. III. College of William and Mary. Personal communication, January 1985.

Murphey, Murray. University of Pennsylvania. Personal communication, October 1978.

Schuyler, Robert L. University of Pennsylvania. Personal communication, January 1982.

VITA

Elizabeth Anne Crowell

Born in Providence, Rhode Island, December 11, 1954. Graduated from Mount Pleasant High School in 1973. Received B.A. *Magna cum laude* from Rhode Island College in 1977, with a major in Anthropology and a minor in History. Member of Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society and recipient of Pell Medal in American History.

In July 1977, the author began graduate study in the Department of History at the College of William and Mary with an apprenticeship in Historical Archaeology. Following her study at the College, she attended the University of Pennsylvania in the Historical Archaeology Program, where she received an M.A. in 1979 and a Ph.D. in 1983. She is currently employed as Senior Archaeologist at Engineering Science Company, in Washington, D.C.